UNITED
NATIONS

E

Economic and Social Council

Distr.
GENERAL

E/CN.6/1996/5
6 February 1996

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN
Fortieth session
11-22 March 1996
Item 3 (c) of the provisional agenda*

FOLLOW-UP TO THE FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN: IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES AND ACTION IN THE CRITICAL AREAS OF CONCERN

Child and dependant care, including the sharing of work and family responsibilities

Report of the Secretary-General

SUMMARY

In 1990, the Economic and Social Council selected the theme of child and dependant care, including the sharing of work and family responsibilities, as the priority theme under the rubric of development for the Commission on the Status of Women at its fortieth session. The report describes the origins of the concern, the context in which the issue can be seen as part of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and measures adopted at the national level to address the issue. It proposes a series of questions that the Commission may wish to address in developing the theme further.

* E/CN.6/1996/1.

CONTENTS

	Paragraphs	Page
INTRODUCTION	1 - 13	4
I. CONTEXT FOR THE ISSUE OF SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITIES	14 - 60	6
A. Economic, demographic and social factors affecting sharing of responsibilities	15 - 37	6
1. Changes in women's and men's economic roles	16 - 24	6
2. Family and household network support and burden	25 - 28	10
3. Female heads of households	29 - 33	11
4. Male responsibilities	34 - 35	12
5. Women's and men's time use	36 - 37	13
B. Effects of the double burden	38 - 45	13
1. Women's opportunities	39 - 42	13
2. Family relationships and members' opportunities	43 - 45	14
C. The double burden from a gender perspective	46 - 60	14
II. MEASURES TO REDUCE THE DOUBLE BURDEN	61 - 88	18
A. Redistribution of family responsibilities	62 - 64	18
B. Efforts to promote changes in the labour market	65 - 74	19
1. Leave provisions	68 - 71	20
(a) Maternity leave	68 - 69	20
(b) Paternity leave	70	20
(c) Parental leave	71	21
2. Working time arrangements	72 - 74	21
(a) Part-time work	73 - 74	21

CONTENTS (continued)

		Paragraphs	Page
C.	Provision of child-care services	75 - 83	23
D.	Provision of elder care	84	24
E.	Support to persons with disabilities	85	25
F.	Changing attitudes and stereotypes	86 - 88	25
III.	QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION	89 - 96	26
A.	What is required to increase men's share of family responsibilities?	90	26
B.	How can attitudes and stereotypes about gender roles best be changed?	91	26
C.	What changes in family and labour legislation are needed to ensure child and dependant care based on sharing?	92 - 93	26
D.	How can provision of child care for all best be secured?	94 - 95	27
E.	How can technologies be provided for the reduction of the burden of household tasks?	96	27

INTRODUCTION

1. Consideration by the Commission on the Status of Women in 1996 of the priority theme of child and dependant care, including the sharing of work and family responsibilities, was recommended by the Economic and Social Council (E/1990/90) in the annex to its resolution 1990/15, which contained the recommendations and conclusions arising from the first review and appraisal of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the year 2000.

2. In its conclusions, the Economic and Social Council recognized that urbanization, migration and economic changes had increased the proportion of families headed by women and the number of women entering the labour force. These women had experienced increasing difficulties in harmonizing their economic role with the demands put on them to provide care for children and dependants. The double burden, rather than being reduced by greater sharing between spouses, had increased. Unless it was reduced, women would not be able to play their full and fair role in development.

3. In recommendation XVII in the annex to resolution 1990/15, the Council suggested that support measures should be established with the aim of facilitating the combination of parental and other caring responsibilities and paid employment. The Council furthermore proposed that policies be implemented for the provision of services and measures to increase the sharing of such responsibilities by men and women and to deal with specific problems of female-headed households that included dependants.

4. In the same recommendation the Council requested the United Nations Secretariat, the United Nations Children's Fund and other appropriate organizations of the United Nations system to make special efforts to analyse the issues of caring for children and dependants and sharing domestic, parental and other caring responsibilities, including the appraisal of national experience.

5. Concern for the double burden on women of work and family responsibilities is not a new one on the international agenda. Its negative effects have been noted from various perspectives, and the need to share family responsibilities has been an increasingly important policy matter.

6. The first world conference on women, held in Mexico City in 1975, 1/ recognized that family responsibilities restricted women's employment opportunities and that the role of women in child-bearing should not be the cause of inequality and discrimination. The Programme of Action adopted by the Conference suggested that child-rearing required shared responsibilities among women, men and society as a whole.

7. The Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies, 2/ placed strong emphasis on the documented fact that the double burden for women arising from having the major responsibility for domestic tasks as well as participating in the labour market remained among the major obstacles to the advancement of women. The Strategies stressed that neither the expansion of employment for women nor the recognition

that women constituted a significant proportion of producers had been accompanied by social adjustments to ease women's burden of child and household care. The Strategies observed that despite significant efforts in many countries to transfer tasks traditionally performed by women to men or to public services, traditional attitudes still continued to persist and in fact had contributed to the increased burden of work placed on women. Moreover, they explained that because the issue of women in development had often been perceived as a welfare problem, it had been perceived as a cost and not as a contribution to development. Thus, despite gains made by a few women, for the majority subordination in the labour market and in society had continued, often owing to the exploitative conditions under which women often worked.

8. The Strategies extended the concern of child and dependant care and its impact to women who had sole responsibility for the economic support of a large number of the world's children, approximately one third and higher in some countries. The Strategies also affirmed that particular attention should be devoted to the informal sector since it would be the major employment outlet for a considerable number of underprivileged urban and rural women, usually sole supporters of their families. The impact of maternity and family responsibilities on the economic sustainability of older women was also assessed in the Nairobi Strategies.

9. The World Summit for Children 3/ recognized a positive link between equality for women and children's welfare. It referred to access to clean water and safe sanitation, which are seen as essential, not only for child health and well-being, but for the emancipation of women from drudgery, which has a pernicious impact on children, especially girls.

10. In a report of the Secretary-General on observance of the International Year of the Family (A/50/370) it was noted that the increasing employment of women and the emerging new roles for men and women were among the major changes that had taken place with regard to family responsibilities. Balancing work and family responsibilities was regarded as a challenge for many families. It also highlighted trends in which an increased proportion of retired people were being supported by active members of society, and in which there was a growing number of single-parent households, largely headed by women. Throughout its overall process, the International Year of the Family afforded an opportunity to examine internal dimensions of the family, giving special attention to the new trends in the composition and dynamic of families as well as to the role of men.

11. The World Summit for Social Development, 4/ recognized the social and economic importance of the unremunerated work done by women. In Commitment 5 of the Copenhagen Declaration, Governments agreed to emphasize the shared responsibility of men and women in the care of children and support for older family members, and to emphasize men's shared responsibility and promote their active involvement in responsible parenthood.

12. The International Conference on Population and Development 5/ emphasized that women's overload of work and lack of power still threaten women's lives. Furthermore, the Conference developed a framework on male responsibilities and participation. Responsible fatherhood and gender equality in all spheres of life, including family life, were seen as dependent on men's responsible sexual

and reproductive behaviour as well as on the understanding of their joint responsibilities with women on issues of sexuality and reproductive health.

13. The issue of sharing of responsibilities, particularly in the context of child and dependant care, is a major cross-cutting theme found in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. In order to further explore this theme, the present report first examines the current context for and dimensions of the question, and then examines measures that have been taken at the national level to discuss it. It concludes with a series of questions that merit further consideration by the Commission on the Status of Women in the context of implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. 6/

I. CONTEXT FOR THE ISSUE OF SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITIES

14. There is strong empirical evidence that despite the fact that women's income is increasingly necessary for family/household welfare and for breaking the cycle of poverty, there has been no corresponding reduction in their domestic responsibilities. Women carry out these responsibilities with often reduced or limited support, which places considerable stress on them and on their families and households. The situation serves to limit their economic opportunities and the impact of their economic activities and, in a longer-term sense, can jeopardize girls' chances for education and other opportunities.

A. Economic, demographic and social factors affecting sharing of responsibilities

15. Over the past several decades all societies have undergone important structural economic and demographic changes. These changes constitute the framework within which women, men and their roles within families are evolving and which must be taken into account in the development of policy actions.

1. Changes in women's and men's economic roles

16. Women's roles have evolved to accommodate increased economic responsibilities, and the gender balance of economic responsibilities in families/households is shifting. This is not only a result of individual choices, but also a result of increasing economic pressures on families/households and declining prospects for men in the labour markets of both developed and developing economies. As the Platform for Action points out:

> "Women's share in the labour force continues to rise and almost everywhere women are working more outside the household, although there has not been a parallel lightening of responsibility for unremunerated work in the household and community. Women's income is becoming increasingly necessary to households of all types. In some regions, there has been a growth in women's entrepreneurship and other self-reliant activities, particularly in the informal sector." (para. 153)

17. Recent data of the International Labour Organization (ILO) 7/ indicate that 41 per cent of the world's women aged 15 and over are known to be economically active, accounting for a third of the global labour force. During the last several decades, women's share of the total labour force has increased in almost all regions, whereas, by contrast, men's participation has fallen almost everywhere (see table 1). Moreover, the number of women workers increased during periods of prosperity as well as periods of recession, as well as in countries with different labour and social policies.

Table 1. Economic activity rates of persons aged 15 and over, each sex, 1970-1990

(percentage)

	Adult economic activity rate					
	1970		1980		1990	
Region	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Developed						
Eastern Europe	56	79	56	77	58	74
Western Europe	37	78	42	75	51	72
Other	40	81	46	78	54	75
Africa						
Northern Africa	8	82	12	79	21	75
Sub-Saharan Africa	57	90	54	89	53	83
Latin America and the Caribbean						
Latin America	22	85	25	82	34	82
Caribbean	38	81	42	77	49	72
Asia and the Pacific						
Eastern Asia	67	86	68	83	66	80
South-eastern Asia	49	87	51	85	54	81
Southern Asia	25	88	24	85	44	78
Central Asia	55	76	56	77	58	79
Western Asia	22	83	26	81	30	77
Oceania	47	88	46	86	48	76

Source: The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XVII.2).

18. Recent ILO data also show that the ratio of women to men in the economically active population has been increasing in almost all regions since 1970 (see table 2), and it is estimated that women will make up half the labour force in most countries and regions by 2000. 8/

Table 2. Ratio of women to men in the economically active population, by region, 1970-1990

(Number of women per men)

Region	1970	1980	1990
Africa	39	58	71
Asia and the Pacific	28	42	48
Eastern Europe	79	81	85
Latin America and the Caribbean	35	48	62
Western Europe and other	45	60	72
World	37	52	62

Source: Women in a Changing Global Economy: 1994 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.IV.1).

19. In most parts of the world, women can no longer be considered a "reserve" labour force, taking on employment only during periods of labour shortages: women are increasingly becoming workers who remain economically active throughout their working lives. In many countries the high rate of female participation in the paid labour force is largely explained by women maintaining or quickly resuming employment after the birth of their children. The 1994 World Survey on the Role of Women suggests that there has been an increasing convergence of women's and men's employment cycles. Historically, the typical life employment cycle for women was an M-shaped curve resulting from women leaving the workforce for childbearing and child-rearing after an initial period of economic activity, followed by a later return to the workforce. Increasingly, women's time out of the labour force is being reduced to a minimum child-bearing period.

20. In developing countries, official statistics indicate a smaller proportion of women economically active (31 per cent) than in developed countries. However, these figures do not reflect their participation in agriculture and the informal sector. In India, for example, the use of a wider definition of the term "economic activity" resulted in the upward revision of the estimated

13 per cent of economically active women to 88 per cent. 9/ In most developing countries, women's involvement in the informal sector (as street vendors, casual or seasonal labourers, domestic workers and homeworkers) has increased and the World Survey on the Role of Women estimates that about half of all economically active women in developing countries are found in the informal sector, where they generally find themselves outside the purview of labour legislation and beyond the reach of trade unions. There is also some indication that a feminization of agriculture is occurring in many countries, essentially as a result of male migration.

21. Cutbacks in government subsidies and services may also have led to the increased participation of women in income-earning activities when they were forced to seek additional monetary resources to meet the need for increased expenditures in their households. This situation is often compounded by declines in real wages and the increasing unemployment of male breadwinners.

22. The data on the number of women who have entered the labour market since the 1970s have to be interpreted in terms of the kinds of employment women accept and the types of jobs they are offered. In most countries, in both urban and rural areas, the increase in women's participation in the labour force has been accounted for by the growth in "atypical" or "non-standard" forms of work (temporary forms of work, casual work, out-work, homework, self-employment, informal sector). In developed countries, the great majority of part-time workers are women between the ages of 25 and 49 when family responsibilities are at their greatest. In developing countries, in the vast majority of cases, homeworkers are women - often with small children - who are forced into these activities as much because of their family responsibilities as because of the lack of other income-earning opportunities.

23. High figures are reported in some countries on the overall prevalence of women working while having at least one young child, including Ghana, Peru, Togo and Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe more than 1 of 4 ever-married women are engaged in work for cash while living with young children; in Togo, more than half of the currently married women and nearly 40 per cent in Ghana have the double burden. 10/ Data from the latest census round reflect that, in many developing countries, ever-married women represent an important proportion of the female labour force in comparison to single women (see table 3).

Table 3. Ever-married women economically active (aged 20 to 45) as percentage of total economically active women in some developing countries

Country	Year	Percentage
Algeria	1987	42.0
Burundi	1990	86.0
Mauritius	1990	68.0
Namibia	1991	55.5
Uganda	1991	90.0
Belize	1991	40.0
Bolivia	1992	74.0
Panama	1990	69.4
Kuwait	1985	68.5

Source: Based on data to be published by the Population Division on economically active women, by marital status, age and urban/rural residence, 1985-1994 (New York, 1995).

24. There is also evidence of a gender pattern of income allocation. Considerable data support the argument that income under women's control is more often spent for children's nutrition and the family's "basic human needs" than that of men. 11/

2. Family and household network support and burden

25. Average household and family sizes - and accordingly family support networks - are decreasing as a result of declining fertility rates and dispersal of family members. Survey and census data provide direct evidence of decreasing average household size in most regions of the world. Between the early 1970s and early 1980s average household size fell by almost 10 per cent in a wide range of developed and developing countries. There is also evidence that throughout the world families are becoming more dispersed. Young and elderly adults, spouses, and other relatives who might otherwise have shared a home are now likely to live apart from one another. 12/ As average family size shrinks, there are fewer aunts and uncles to help to tend young children, and fewer children to support ageing parents, and dependent family members may be less likely to receive adequate care.

26. The dependency burden on working adults, in particular, is intensifying. The Platform for Action assesses the fact that in many developing countries, 45 to 50 per cent of the population is less than 15 years old, while in industrialized countries both the number and proportion of elderly people are increasing. 13/ Demographic shifts have resulted in rapidly ageing populations and while developing countries are still in an early stage of this demographic shift, it seems inevitable that ageing populations will be a significant problem everywhere by the second decade of the next century and consequently national economies will have to depend more on women's labour. The ageing phenomenon also means that a growing number of workers will be helping elderly relatives.

27. The reduction or loss of extended kinship support networks forces working-age parents to assume greater responsibility for the care and support of younger and older dependent family members. This dependency burden is intensified by the rising costs of supporting elderly parents and raising children. In these circumstances the sustained commitment of each working-age parent to the support of dependants becomes more critical than ever.

28. The overall trend towards the reduction in public expenditure has reduced the support basis for working women and men, and has increased women's overall work burden, affecting particularly women in developing countries. Women are expected to carry a disproportionate share of the costs of child care and social reproduction and to do so often from a diminished resource base. In many countries, structural adjustment programmes have forced cuts in basic services and in investments in human development, shifting the responsibilities of basic social services from Governments to women and families, without compensation.

3. Female heads of household

29. The rising proportion of female-headed households has been widely documented. In recent years, female headship and female-headed households have emerged as a subject of increased concern, in both developed and developing countries. An early review estimated that between 10 and 40 per cent of households fall into this category. The Women's Indicators and Statistics database (WISTAT) confirms this estimate. 14/ The Platform for Action assumes that "one fourth of all households worldwide are headed by women and many households are dependent on female income even where men are present" (para. 22).

30. The reasons for the rapidly rising proportion of female-headed households, a substantial part of which are headed by mothers with dependent children, are diverse. Marital dissolution (abandonment, separation, divorce, or death of a spouse, polygamy and multiple unions), migration and non-marital child-bearing are the most common reasons. In both developed and developing countries the excessive use of drugs and alcohol by males has been cited among the causes of de facto female-headed households. Many studies show that extended family systems, which have traditionally supported unmarried women, have been weakening in many developing countries, giving rise to female headship but also placing women and children in increasingly difficult situations. In other cases, rapid urbanization along with economic pressures may be diminishing the sense of obligation to support kinswomen and their children. In countries ravaged by the

AIDS epidemic, the disease has increased single-parent households and has required women to support extended family members. Caring for the rapidly growing number of AIDS orphans has been largely left to women, whose family support network may be dramatically depleted by the disease. Some studies suggest that men's unwillingness to marry or to assume family responsibility, or their readiness to leave the household, is a result of their inability to sustain a family.

31. Worldwide, the chance that formerly married women (widowed, divorced or separated) will become household heads is much higher than for never-married women. A large proportion of female heads of household are widowed, divorced or separated. Divorced, separated and widowed women show higher labour force participation than any other marital group in most countries where data are available. Nearly two thirds of divorced or separated women of reproductive age are currently engaged in cash-earning work in Brazil, Mexico, Peru and Thailand, while in Ghana, Indonesia, Togo and Zimbabwe the corresponding proportions exceed 50 per cent. In Latin America, since dissolution of marriage is relatively frequent and informal types of union have been prevalent, it is noticeable that divorced and separated women had higher labour force participation than married women. 15/

32. Studies of the composition of households headed by females show that in all countries the percentage of female heads who are the only adult in the household is much higher for women than for men. In most cases, data suggest that many female heads who are the only adult in the household are likely to be the only income earners. The situation is particularly critical in developing countries where social welfare systems are non-existent or inadequate. Households maintained by single mothers may not account for the majority of female-headed households, yet unmarried mothers may face the greatest difficulties.

33. Evidence has been found that the strong correlation between female headship and poverty results from higher dependency ratios, inadequate remittances from absent fathers and gender differentials in access to resources and employment. Female heads of household bear the full costs of child-rearing and nurturing, as well as the care of other dependants, in systems where public transfers do not adequately address the fact that all women shoulder a disproportionate share of the burden of social reproduction. In the case of women heads of household, overlapping productive and reproductive responsibilities affect mobility and create trade-offs between reproductive, often child-care, and income-earning activities.

4. Male responsibilities

34. Studies of the link between poverty and male responsibilities 16/ show that increasing numbers of men migrate and do not return to their places of origin because of poverty. Young men often refuse to marry and/or acknowledge paternity because they lack sufficient resources, or prospects for them, to enter into family commitments. The reported rise in teenage pregnancies in Africa, for example, may indicate that it is young men who refuse to marry. A significant factor in this could be the increased cost of children under conditions of economic decline. This is particularly the case where male

employment opportunities and wage levels are also in decline. Increasing numbers of men find that they cannot support families. Even among middle-class families men seem to be using their greater bargaining power to ensure that women shoulder the greater proportion of the costs of child-rearing and welfare. Prejudices which assume women's particular responsibility for the reproduction of the human capital are often reflected in the way they are held to be primarily responsible for child welfare and for any intergenerational transfer of disadvantage. A focus on women in cases of premature motherhood and single parenthood reveals the extent to which women are held to be responsible for child welfare in a way that men are not.

35. Factors such as the rise in female-headed households and the increase in women's employment have been extensively studied. However, the equally important third factor, the decline in the labour force participation of married men over the same period, has not often been studied.

5. Women's and men's time use

36. Women's and men's use of time is different and unequal. The Human Development Report 1995 17/ demonstrates, supported by considerable evidence comparing women's and men's time use, that women (whether mothers or not) work much longer than men in general, and that this disparity is apparent in both developed and developing countries.

37. In conclusion, on the demand side, it is expected that harmonization between work and family will continue to be a concern worldwide for a growing proportion of women.

B. Effects of the double burden

38. The fact that women are increasingly assuming economic responsibilities but, at the same time, maintaining their reproductive activities, has several effects on women's ability to access income earning opportunities, on the conditions under which they work, and on their prospects and development in employment. However, the impact of the double burden on children, especially girls, and on relationships within the family, especially with men, has also been documented.

1. Women's opportunities

39. When working women are expected to have full responsibility for the family and household, they must adjust their working lives around their other obligations, and they are at a disadvantage compared to men, when working conditions do not take this into account. This limits women's employment opportunities and further reinforces inequality between the sexes. A recent ILO report 18/ suggests that the double burden of working women could be a principal cause for their predominance in low status and low paid employment and often precarious working conditions, offering them little income, job security and prospects for advancement. Even where women's education and skills allow them

access to higher level jobs, their careers may founder if they cannot find ways to combine their professional duties with their domestic responsibilities.

40. ILO also supports the view that the segregation of the labour market, the crowding of women in a narrow range of low-skilled, low status, atypical occupations, their shorter working hours and their unavailability for overtime, night work and shift work because of legal barriers and/or their family responsibilities contribute, in part, to the gap between the earnings of men and women.

41. While aware of the non-economic difficulties that women in extreme poverty face, programmes often focus on women exclusively in economic terms. That means that without addressing the pressure put on women's time to carry several responsibilities and roles, targeting women to participate in economic, income generation programmes may not be completely successful.

42. The double burden is not only an obstacle for women who are economically active but also for any woman who seeks training, education, career development and participation in politics.

2. Family relationships and members' opportunities

43. The socially accepted definitions of "good wife" and "good husband" are undergoing changes, and one result is that people's personal relationships are under enormous pressure. A recent study in the South African homeland of Qwaqwa, for example, showed that a decline in male migrant labour and male employment generally had pushed women into finding that families cannot be supported by a male wage, and that household reproduction was increasingly more dependent on women's income. 19/ There have been a number of violent clashes in the homeland against the provision of jobs for women. Conjugal roles and expectations have been found to undergo changes, since women provide more of the income while their partners are unemployed.

44. The double burden borne by working women has also negative effects on daughters who, in many cases, may be kept out of school in order to care for siblings or other dependants while their mothers work.

45. Rural women and women in the urban informal sector often opt to bring their young children with them to the workplace. Some mothers use informal forms of care with, in many cases, negative impact on the child's safety and health. There is also an indication of the growing incidence of "latch-key" children or children left on their own while women are working.

C. The double burden from a gender perspective

46. A gender analysis can suggest the causes and mechanisms of the double burden and, consequently, the possible issues to be addressed in order to reduce it. As noted during the Seminar on Integration of Women in Development 20/ gender issues are not generally integrated into the discussions of development strategies, though there may well be a passing reference to the impact on women.

The reasons for the lack of integration are related to the fact that discussion of development strategies focuses only on the production of goods and services and ignores the reproduction, on a daily and generational basis, of human beings; and that development strategies treat households as units and fail to differentiate the costs and benefits to different household members.

47. The process of human reproduction, the way in which children are raised, sick people nursed, older people cared for, as a non-monetized process, undertaken without pay, is left out of economic account. Human resource issues are addressed in terms of human capital formation through education and health inputs, but this omits the care and nurture not provided through a cash nexus, care that is essential to human reproduction. Reproductive work does not normally carry with it an entitlement to an income, and those who bear major responsibility for it must either undertake additional work to generate income of their own (the double burden) or become dependent for income transfers on those who are largely free from this responsibility. That dependence is organized through gender ascriptive relations.

48. Gender relations are the social, economic and political relations that determine gender identity of both men and women. Gender relations shape the limits of what a woman or a man may undertake in the family or in public. They also frame male and female behaviour, responsibilities and entitlements. Gender relations are imbedded in all social, cultural, economic and political systems, at all levels. Relationships between spouses, children and parents, employers and employees, and among community members are all influenced by the actual dominant model of gender relations.

49. Gender analysis seeks to define a rational, organized distinction and articulation between production and reproduction. The dominant model supports that reproductive activities should be undertaken by women and girls and include the care and nurturing provided inside a family (to children, spouses, sick, older people, disabled or siblings) and inside the broader community. It includes tasks such as child-bearing, breast-feeding, child-rearing, cooking, housework and transmission of values; in many developing countries they also include a wide range of activities, such as fetching water and collecting wood. The dominant model also assumes that men are essentially the breadwinners of their families through their productive activities. Gender relations have been characterized by a predominance of production over reproduction, discriminating against the careers of women. Human reproduction activities are not often recognized ("the invisibility of women's work") and do not include an entitlement to income. This leads to women's economic dependence on male partners or, in most cases, to the double burden of taking additional activities to increase consumption and/or income.

50. The double burden is, in practice, a mechanism by which society ensures reproduction without assuming its costs, based on and perpetuating inequality between women and men. 21/

51. The major implications that can be derived from applying a gender perspective to the issue of the double burden are:

(a) Women's economic disadvantages, which are commonly assumed to be explained by labour market discrimination, can also derive from the family system. The failure to recognize the value of reproduction activities limits women's choices and hampers their chances of success in other areas of endeavour through the direct burden of the work, the time and energy constraints entailed. Consequently, in order to release women's productive potential, in order to generate equal opportunities between working women and men, it is not only necessary to look into the labour market, but also into the family structures and the various factors that shape and change these structures;

(b) The factors explaining women's economic discrimination are not only derived from the labour market and the family but also from the structure and processes operating in society as a whole;

(c) A life-cycle approach is needed as long as gender roles are determined and learned since the early stages of life;

(d) Finally, the double burden derives essentially from socially-ascribed gender roles, for women and men, which have not adjusted to the new demographic and economic trends. The web of structures and mechanisms which determines women's and men's opportunities is still influenced by the assumption that society is structured according to a sexual division of roles in which women are carers and men are breadwinners, and that for this reason family responsibilities are within the private domain. Despite the increasing number of women who support a family and of families needing the income of both spouses for survival, women's employment is still considered secondary to men's.

52. Policies, legislation and programmes are still designed on the assumption that men are breadwinners and women dependants; girls are still educated, or not educated, with the assumption that they will be taken in charge, but that they will perform most domestic responsibilities. Men still assume that their value depends at least in part on their capacity to support their families. Women, in contrast, may hesitate to share with society, or with men, the only sphere of activities where they can exercise authority and power.

53. In consequence, most legislation regulating relations in the family, is based on the assumption that men are heads of households and breadwinners and that women are dependants. While the assumption is considered discriminatory under the provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 22/ economic hardships which most women encounter themselves after marital dissolution are not always dealt with by legislation.

54. For example, while family allowances, when they exist, should provide direct payment to the principal carers of children, they are often given to men. In Indonesia, 23/ the labour code stipulates differential treatment in certain provisions. Government Decree No. 37/1967 of the Wage System for Employees in State Companies stipulates that dependants are considered to be a man's wife and children. Therefore, in practice, women are classified as single and receive no benefits. Under Decree No. 418/Kpts/Ekku/5/1981 Minister of Agriculture, the benefits provided for the widow and children of a retired male employee are not available to female household heads even if they are main income earners for their families. In Indonesia, the Marriage Law of 1974, article 43, states that

a child born outside marriage has a civil claim only on the mother and her family. The child has no claim on the father.

55. Some States have begun to adjust laws to eliminate these biases. In Cyprus, 24/ for example, through Law No. 26/88 income tax legislation was amended granting women the same rights as men regarding tax allowances and deductions. In Israel, 25/ the Single Parents Law (1992) strengthened the protection for single-parent families with low income, by increasing benefits and awarding child-education grants and priority in vocational training. It brought also an equalization of rights among the various types of single-parent families.

56. Dissolution of marriage and the division of material possessions do not take into consideration the domestic labour that had contributed to the family well-being and usually leave the wife astray in case of divorce, separation, or death of the husband. This points to the need for a property regime that grants both spouses the right to equal utilization and ownership of the material possessions acquired during marriage. Turkey, 26/ for example, considers that as long as equal property rights and a system of providing for the protection of divorced women are not adopted, measures that make divorce easier may not be always to the advantage of women.

57. Worldwide, public transfer programmes favour families with employed male breadwinners, and divert resources from families more in need. In almost all contexts, women are assigned primary responsibility for child-rearing, and public transfers (pensions, family allowances) are often structured so as to provide benefits to waged employees and to reinforce a family structure based on a male breadwinner. The result is that social security programmes discriminate against female wage earners in spite of attempts to reform the law, and they do so in situations where women already face discrimination in the labour market.

58. Women who are raising families on their own do not always receive equal public support compared to families with a male breadwinner. A review of current social insurance programmes 27/ in Latin America and the Caribbean concluded that such programmes subsidize children in families headed by full-time wage earners, effectively redistributing money away from most families maintained by women alone.

59. There is also ineffectiveness in enforcement of child-support payments by men in the case of marital dissolution. For example, delinquency in child-support payments occurs in 25 to 40 per cent of cases in Western Europe and 40 per cent of divorced fathers do not pay child support in the United States. Similar patterns were found in Asia of radically reduced child support from fathers following divorce. In Malaysia only 50 per cent of divorced fathers contribute financially to their children. In an effort to protect children's right to paternal support in such cases, a number of countries have increased the categories of children for whom fathers are legally responsible.

60. The national report of Thailand recognizes that obliging a married woman to change her title from Miss to Mrs. and to take her husband's surname is discriminatory. She must use her maiden name if she divorces but may keep the title of Mrs., and sometimes a widow must keep her husband's surname. However,

being recognized as married might be a discriminatory factor that could influence employment opportunities, career development and job prospects if the workplace was not friendly to women. A male title on the other hand conveys no information about marital status. In this context the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action assesses that:

> "In several countries, there have been important changes in the relationships between women and men, especially where there have been major advances in education for women and significant increases in their participation in the paid labour force. The boundaries of the gender division of labour between productive and reproductive roles are gradually being crossed as women have started to enter formerly male-dominated areas of work and men have started to accept greater responsibility for domestic tasks, including child care. However, changes in women's roles have been greater and much more rapid than changes in men's roles. In many countries, the differences between women's and men's achievements are still not recognized as the consequences of socially constructed gender roles rather than immutable biological differences." 28/

II. MEASURES TO REDUCE THE DOUBLE BURDEN

61. A number of measures have been suggested or attempted in order to reduce the double burden experienced by women.

A. Redistribution of family responsibilities

62. A different distribution of human reproduction activities among the State, the market and the community, as well as within the family, between women and men, has been the main approach adopted for the solution of the double burden. It has been mostly adopted as an alternative to other approaches which suggest that rather than changing gender roles, human reproduction activities should be remunerated through a "housewife wage" or a basic entitlement for everybody in the society.

63. The approach involving the distribution of human reproduction activities is based on the principle of equality between women and men as well as on the principle that reproductive activities are fundamental for society. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action sets as its aim the removal of all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life, which means the establishment of shared power and responsibility between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international community. 29/ The Platform furthermore recognizes that the upbringing of children requires shared responsibility of parents, women and men and society as a whole. 30/

64. The approach of sharing family responsibilities has the following implications:

(a) If any cost has to be paid by economically active mothers for assuming family responsibilities, this cost will need to be shared on an equal basis with men, in order to maintain equality in opportunities;

(b) In order to correct discrimination which could emerge from assuming family responsibilities by men and women, equal opportunities between parents and non-parents, should be promoted;

(c) Even where men are full participants in families, it is still difficult for families to devote the time and corresponding cost to family responsibilities as well as productive activities. Sharing is then a requirement, not only for opening up women's equal opportunities to earn income, but also for the strengthening of families through societal support. The State, the market and the community will then have to share the time and cost required by family responsibilities;

(d) If, because of the specific roles assumed by mothers in child-bearing, childbirth and breast-feeding, women are unable to enjoy equal opportunities with men, then supportive measures should be promoted, based on the recognition of maternity as a fundamental societal function. The time that cannot be shared should be accompanied by a sharing of the costs implied;

(e) The balance, in terms of who assumes the costs of family responsibilities, between women and men, as well as between families, the State, the market and the community is determined by the relative power and interest of each one of them.

B. Efforts to promote changes in the labour market

65. The main policies directed towards reducing the double burden have been divided between protective measures, which assume an exclusive role for women as caregivers, but create additional barriers for women and hamper their prospects and possibilities, and equalitarian measures that have created a stress on women as they assume that they are workers on the same basis as men.

66. Recognizing that family responsibilities could be a source of discrimination in the labour field, ILO has adopted a number of standards aimed at helping women to overcome the handicap that family responsibilities place on them as workers and at encouraging the idea that the upbringing and development of children is as much the responsibility of men as of women. Recognizing that family responsibilities can be a source of discrimination at work, the 1981 Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (No. 156) called for the development of support services and other arrangements to relieve tensions between family and work which could be available equally to men and women. As of June 1995, only 23 countries have been in a position to ratify this Convention and a number have cited severe economic difficulties as one reason for not having done so. 31/

67. Measures to adapt working life to family needs fall into two categories: leave provisions, which are normally of a statutory nature, and working time arrangements, which owe more to employers' initiative. The need to adapt

working life to the requirements of the family was first felt in connection with pregnancy and childbirth. Decades went by before the difficulties experienced by workers who have to cope with the education of children and the care of family members held the attention of legislators.

1. Leave provisions

(a) Maternity leave

68. ILO points out that over the last decade there has been an often heated debate as to whether protective measures governing women's employment had not outlived their usefulness and were now working to the disadvantage of women in terms of their equal access to employment and to the monetary benefits attached to such work. In view of this controversy, in 1990, an ILO Meeting of Experts on Special Protective Measures for Women and Equality of Opportunities and Treatment agreed that, except under specific circumstances, special protective measures were indeed incompatible with the principles of equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women in employment. On the other hand, there has been a simultaneous recognition of the need for maternity protection and the guarantee of a continuing source of income during a specific period of maternity leave.

69. A legal right to maternity leave now exists in most countries, while it varies in its duration and cash benefits. However, the increasing numbers of women in the informal sector and many rural women do not enjoy the right except when they belong to innovative self-help groups which provide for such contingencies. In addition, while the secondary aim of maternity protection is to ensure that pregnancy and motherhood do not constitute obstacles to the right to work, many women continue to face direct and indirect discriminatory practices because of it. For example, many reports show that in some countries, enterprises require women to take pregnancy tests, or to present periodically proof that they are not pregnant; or they hire only women who are sterilized. Indirect discrimination is more likely to occur when employers, rather than social insurance or public funds, have to pay the cost of maternity leave and are therefore more reluctant to hire women. Efforts are being made to improve financial coverage from social security funds.

(b) Paternity leave

70. Male workers in some countries, including most Western European ones, are entitled to paternity leave of between two days and two weeks. While this is normally provided by law, the National Union of Plantation and Allied Workers in Uganda were able to negotiate a collective agreement granting their members seven days of paternal leave. 32/ In the United Republic of Tanzania, the national family planning association, UMATI, has recommended leave time for new fathers, noting that it would enable fathers to support their wives during and after delivery.

(c) Parental leave

71. A comprehensive system of parental leave and insurance was first introduced in the Scandinavian countries. Others have recently adopted legislation to enable either parent to stay at home to care for the children after the end of the maternity and/or paternity leave, with the guarantee to return to the same or equivalent job. The length of parental leave and the conditions under which it is granted vary widely, and there is a substantial income replacement by means of social insurance. In some countries statutory provisions have been enacted to enable workers to combine parental leave with part-time work arrangements. In Norway, there is a suggestion that four weeks statutory paid parental leave might be reserved exclusively for the father. Actual use of parental leave by fathers is still not widespread.

2. Working time arrangements

72. Traditional working time patterns characterized by fixed working days and penalties for breaks in service were not at first challenged when growing numbers of mothers entered the labour force. Gradually, under the pressure of economic and social change, significant innovations in the arrangements of working time were introduced, mainly in industrialized countries. Flexible working time arrangements are extremely popular with workers as they can make it significantly easier to deal with family commitments. Flexi-time is a practice not limited to industrialized countries. In Panama, unions have been successful in negotiating with employers the introduction of flexible working arrangements.

(a) Part-time work

73. Part-time work can be attractive to workers who want to devote time to their families while remaining economically active. In some countries, such as Portugal, Spain and Sweden, virtually no legal distinctions are made between part- and full-time workers, who enjoy the same rights. In most cases, however, thresholds built into eligibility requirements and qualifying conditions deprive large numbers of part-time workers, mostly women, of important benefits and rights.

74. Some issues must be taken into account in connection with the flexible labour market and its impact on men's share of family responsibilities:

(a) Current arrangements implemented in many developed countries to increase the sharing of work and family responsibilities have not had notable success. Factors such as pay inequality between women and men, men's fear of interrupting their careers, and lack of role models and social support from families and employers seem to be reducing the impact of policies intended to make the labour market more flexible. Few men have been reported as using these facilities, while, in contrast, women have found it easier to adopt traditional roles and drop out of the labour market. 33/ This situation has often led employers and policy-makers to conclude that women still lack a long-term commitment to work and that family responsibilities remain a women's concern, so that keeping women out of the career track is a logical outcome;

(b) The current debate about the potential benefits that part-time work and work with flexible work schedules and locations could have in helping women and men to mesh work with family responsibilities centres on two questions: the extent to which atypical patterns of employment are freely chosen by women and men; and the degree to which they are detrimental to women in terms of wages, training possibilities and career development, legislative protection, social security and their right to organize;

(c) Such measures are obviously limited to the formal labour market and in many cases to a few parts of this sector, for example to the most skilled workers. They do not have direct relevance for the majority of workers in developing countries where most women workers are found in agriculture and in the informal sector and where social protection systems are still limited in scope and reach. The 1993 report of the ILO Director-General on social insurance and social protection underscored the difficulties inherent in extending the coverage of existing social security programmes to the informal sector in the near future and suggested that non-conventional measures at the local level should be developed as useful vehicles of social protection. The challenge here would be to extend labour legislation and social protection to the informal and agriculture sectors. In some countries, trade unions have been playing a dynamic role as in the case of the Union of Domestic Workers in Recife (Brazil), which was set up by the Central Unica dos Trabalhadores in order to help women in domestic service to obtain rights on par with those of formal sector workers. These include the right to organize, maternity leave, minimum wages, pensions and notice of termination of employment. In Colombia, the Asociación Colombiana para el Estudio de la Población, a non-governmental organization, helped the Women's Domestic Workers Union to consolidate itself and become a forum for these workers. Indeed, in many developing countries such groups (including non-governmental organizations and women's self-help groups) are playing an important role in guaranteeing a minimum of social and economic security for their members. This has been done through the mobilization of member savings and the establishment of common funds, by serving as channels of improved access to formal institutions and by their actions as pressure groups. A case in point is the maternity benefit scheme and private group comprehensive coverage scheme of the 30,000 members of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of India. 34/ In Peru a voluntary scheme exists for women in domestic service covering sickness, maternity, old age and invalidity. Some countries (such as Benin, Cyprus and Morocco) have permitted women who had previously been in employment the option of continuing their contributions on a voluntary basis. In China, the State recognizes the social value of maternity. Seeing that the uneven distribution of maternity cost among enterprises would adversely affect the economic efficiency of those with more women workers and thereby create obstacles for women's employment, the Government and non-governmental organizations have begun to actively promote maternity insurance on a society basis. The goal, fixed for the year 2000, is to establish maternity insurance on a society basis in all cities and towns. 35/ In Israel, in 1994, the payment for child-birth leave was brought up to 100 per cent of woman's normal salary, thus bringing these payments in line with payments made to men doing reserve duty. 36/

C. Provision of child-care services

75. With the same importance as promoting maternity leave for working women in the formal labour market, the provision of child care has been the tool most promoted for facilitating women's right to work. Most national reports refer to this instrument as the most effective for the reduction of the stress put on women having both work and family responsibilities. There is also strong documented evidence on the relationship between availability of child-care services and women's economic activity. 37/

76. The availability of child-care services varies enormously and almost invariably falls short of demand. Even in countries known for their high level of services (Denmark), long waiting lists for child care attest to unmet needs. A few countries have comprehensive national systems to provide public day-care services for children, particularly those of working parents.

77. Child care has become a political issue in some countries; very much debated is the roles which society and public authorities, parents, employers and trade unions should play. In some counties caring for children is seen primarily as a responsibility of parents. In such countries the provision of child care is decentralized and left largely to parents and private initiative.

78. In Sweden and Denmark, child care is considered as a responsibility of society and the costs are shared between central Government and local governments. In many developing countries it is mainly the poorest sectors of the population to which government child care is addressed. In other countries, the law provides for the establishment of child care for the population as a whole. In practice, however, resources are limited.

79. In a number of countries a significant proportion of child care is provided for a fee by individuals in their homes. Variously known as "family day centres", "mothers' help" or "guardian mothers", these persons, mainly women, look after children all day and schoolchildren before and after school. Most countries regulate such care to guarantee a minimum level of quality, but the number of non-licensed carers often exceeds that of licensed ones. In Venezuela, for example, the Government established the "guardian mothers" system in 1988. From slightly over 10,000 children at the start, the number of children reached almost 300,000 in 1992. There are almost 30,000 day-care homes run by "guardian mothers" spread around the country and many operate in their own homes. The system provides for the active involvement of the local communities in a process by which "guardian mothers" are selected and trained. The goal is that not only the children and their mothers would benefit, but also the women who provide the care.

80. Another significant problem is the limited availability of child care for school-age children before and after school hours and holidays. Another problem has been that many day-care facilities have been oriented towards children's needs without any consideration of the needs of working women; typical programmes operate for three to four hours and during the week only, and there is no provision for breast-feeding.

81. There is an identifiable child-care demand among non-wage earners, and there have been innovative initiatives by local populations making their own simple and inexpensive arrangements. For example, children may be taken to a central place in a village where a few women take turns in looking after and feeding children. However, such local initiatives need external support to be sustainable.

82. The involvement of employers has also been the focus of debates. In a number of countries the involvement of employers results from a long-standing legal obligation to provide child-care facilities at the workplace, either in certain industries or when they employ a certain number of women. However, when the provision of such facilities depends on a minimum number of women employees, this may go counter to the employment of women, a risk which was recognized in Venezuela. There, when the labour code was amended in 1990, the requirement was changed from 30 women workers to 20 employees, male and female. In practice, however, the legal provisions are unevenly honoured. Often, while employers are willing to bear the cost of day care, they lack the experience to set up facilities. In other cases, the workers themselves may not be interested in using on-site facilities. In large cities of developing countries, workers may be reluctant to bring young children on long journeys on crowded buses on poor roads and would prefer community crêches close to workers' homes. In several countries, employers may fulfil their child-care obligation by subsidizing specialized child-care institutions or by cost-sharing with other employers in the same area. Another, and growing, approach is for Governments to encourage rather than oblige employers' involvement by assisting employers and voluntary groups operating child-care facilities and training of the required staff. Child-care assistance by employers can also include information and referral services and subsidies for part of the cost.

83. The cooperative movement can also be a provider of child care. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, the Eastern Credit Union opened a nursery school and a day-care centre in 1988 as a service to its employees and members. In the Philippines a number of cooperatives affiliated with the national Confederation of Cooperatives (NATCCO) established day-care centres for their members. In view of their success they subsequently opened to non-members.

D. Provision of elder care

84. Public interest in the issue of elder care is not new, even if the approaches are different according to country and region. In some countries there is growing recognition that elder care is a workplace issue, as more persons providing care happen to be workers. The question is which, the State or the family, should assume the primary responsibility for providing home care and by what means could the State provide support to the family if this meant assuming the main responsibility. The answer to this has significant impact on equality and gender issues both in the workplace and in the family. Since women workers provide the majority of care to the older people, either at home or as paid carers, public sector solutions necessarily also become part of public policy debates on equal pay, discrimination in employment, occupational segregation and unpaid work. The provision of adequate pensions and medical benefits are perhaps the most important form of direct support to older people

and consequently to families. The national report of Ghana, for example, indicated that most self-employed women earned very low incomes or could even not be aware of the existence of social security. With most women not having any retirement security, elderly women in society become dependent on their children, which increases the burden on families.

E. Support to persons with disabilities

85. The promotion of equal opportunities for education, training and work, as well as the provision of support services, pensions and medical benefits, are perhaps the most important forms of direct support to persons with disabilities.

F. Changing attitudes and stereotypes

86. Some developing countries report efforts that have been undertaken in order to change perceptions, attitudes and stereotypes on gender roles. In Jamaica, 38/ for example, during the last decade, more fathers have been encouraged to become actively involved in parenting and to provide economic support. A better legal and institutional framework for handling families in crisis has been established. A number of non-governmental organizations have played an important complementary role to the government's programmes through the expansion of "parenting education" training programmes. Women's centres for adolescent girls were established to assist pregnant schoolgirls to learn, among other things, parenting and to encourage the participation of "baby-fathers" in caring for their children. These measures have achieved creditable success. There has been a reduction in the number of second pregnancies among highschool girls who come to the centres.

87. Relatively little attention has been given to fathers and to the role of men in changes in family structures and gender roles expectations. Until very recently all educational materials on parenting were aimed at current or future mothers. Now a small number are directed at boys and men. These include a parenting guide for men published by the Caribbean Child Development Centre in Jamaica, entitled "Men and their families: pathways to parenting". In Colombia 39/ the Government is seeking more men in family planning and to redraw the boundaries of publicly projected images of masculinity. Informational brochures distributed by child health programmes use new images of fatherhood.

88. There is also some evidence that mothers' attitudes strongly influence fathering behaviour and that educational programmes and materials should encourage girls and women to support male involvement with children. Some efforts have also been made to depict fathers in sharing roles in the mass media. In the United States, television, film and advertising increasingly show close father-child relationships. Similarly, for example, an education programme in New York City allows fifth and sixth-grade boys to diaper, feed and play with babies. This programme demonstrates that boys, when encouraged, can become enthusiastic and tender carers playing with babies, as well as increasing their own skills and confidence. Other programmes have sought to change role symbolism by measures such as renaming the mother-child centres as parent-child centres.

III. QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION

89. Taking into account the context of the issue and experience in developing measures to address it, a number of questions can be suggested for further consideration by the Commission on the Status of Women. They concern policies that are strategic for the reduction of the double burden put on working women and for an increased sharing of family responsibilities between women and men, as well as between families, the State and the community, particularly in developing countries.

A. What is required to increase men's share of family responsibilities?

90. Elaborating policies oriented towards increasing the share of family responsibilities undertaken by men would need to consist of a combination of incentives, rewards as well as sanctions, that would encourage men to take up those responsibilities. This would require answers to questions about men's current expectations with regard to their parenting and caretaking roles and the link of these with their male identities. The relationship between male self-image and men's understanding of its relationship with the norm of equality, as well as the facts of women's employment, would need to be examined in terms of developing integral and complementary programmes for family strengthening, equality of women, responsible fatherhood and sexual behaviour, population control, education and human capital formation.

B. How can attitudes and stereotypes about gender roles best be changed?

91. The question of how to address prevailing attitudes and stereotypes about gender roles involves addressing the value assigned to the various tasks in society, including the visibility and worth of unremunerated work done by women in caregiving and the norm of sharing this responsibility. In policy terms it means examining how the educational system, the media and civil society should be partners in the process of changing the perceptions of gender roles and helping to redefine them in the context of social and economic change.

C. What changes in family and labour legislation are needed to ensure child and dependent care based on sharing?

92. Given the need for public policies conducive to sharing as well as towards providing equality within the family, the question of necessary legislative changes needs to be addressed. With regard to labour legislation, the issues are (a) who should bear the cost for installing equal opportunities protection and flexibilization of the labour market; and (b) what changes are needed in national social security systems in order to increase the coverage of women, in urban and rural areas.

93. In terms of family law, the issue is the legal revisions and means of enforcement necessary to bring equality in the family through changes in

regulations on marriage, divorce, property ownership, alimony and child support which would mitigate the effects of the double burden as well as increase support from society and from men in the family.

D. How can provision of child care for all best be secured?

94. The question of securing child care for all who need it turns on how to increase the availability of affordable child-care centres that are responsive to women's needs, including encouraging local administrations and local members of civil society to provide day-care centres for children in low-income neighbourhoods, promoting the involvement of men and providing opportunities for child care to be a source of income for women.

95. How child care is provided can have an impact on the share men have in assuming family responsibilities, such as when information is directed not only to women but also to men, by increasing men's training and employment as care providers and including fathers and brothers in the interactions with child-care centres.

E. How can technologies be provided for the reduction of the burden of household tasks?

96. The issue here is how to ensure that technologies to reduce the time spent in routine household tasks, such as obtaining water and fuel, as well as cooking, can be made widely accessible and actively disseminated.

Notes

1/ See Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June-2 July 1975 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1).

2/ Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Nairobi, 15-26 July 1985 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.85.IV.10), chap. I, sect. A.

3/ World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children and Plan of Action for Implementing the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children in the 1990s: World Summit for Children, Note by the Secretary-General (A/45/625), annex.

4/ Report of the World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 6-12 March 1995 (A/CONF.166/9), chap. I, resolution 1, annex.

5/ Report of the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 5-13 September 1994 (United Nations publication, Sales No. 95.XIII.18).

6/ Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 4-15 September 1995 (A/CONF.177/20), chap. I, resolution 1, annex II.

7/ International Institute for Labour Studies, "Women workers in a changing global environment: framework for discussion", paper presented at the International Forum on Equality for Women in the World of Work: Challenges for the Future, Geneva, 1-3 June 1994.

8/ Women in a Changing Global Economy: 1994 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.IV.1).

9/ International Institute for Labour Studies, op. cit.

10/ Living Arrangements of Women and Their Children in Developing Countries: a Demographic Profile (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XIII).

11/ "The intersection of family, gender and economy in the developing world", International Year of the Family occasional papers, No. 9 (1994); Judith Bruce, Cynthia B. Lloyd and Ann Leonard, Families in Focus: New Perspectives on Mothers, Fathers and Children (New York, The Population Council, 1995).

12/ "The intersection of family ..."; Bruce, Lloyd and Leonard, op. cit; International Labour Office, "Promoting harmony between work and family: the role of support services and flexible working arrangements", World Labour Report 1994/7 (Geneva).

13/ Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women (A/CONF.177/20), chap. I, resolution 1, annex II, para. 30.

14/ Women in a changing global economy, ...

15/ Henrietta Moore, Is there a crisis in the family?, World Summit for Social Development occasional paper, No. 3 (Geneva, July 1994).

16/ Summarized in Moore, op. cit.

17/ United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report, 1995 (New York, Oxford University Press, 1995).

18/ International Labour Office, "Promoting harmony ...".

19/ Moore (1994), op. cit.

20/ Diane Elson, "Gender issues in development strategies", paper presented to the Seminar on Integration of Women in Development, Vienna, December 1991. The seminar was used to prepare the priority theme for the Commission on the Status of Women at its thirty-sixth session (E/CN.6/1992/8).

21/ Valentine Moghadam, "Approaching the family: gender, development and equity", paper prepared for the second ad hoc Inter-Agency Meeting on the International Year of the Family, Vienna, 5-6 March 1992.

22/ General recommendation 21: Equality in marriage and family relations, Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women on its thirteenth session, (Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 38) (A/49/38).

23/ Indonesia, National report, 1994.

24/ Cyprus, National report, 1994.

25/ Israel, National report, 1994.

26/ Turkey, National report, 1994.

27/ Moore, op. cit.

28/ Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women (A/CONF.177/20), chap. I, resolution 1, annex II, para. 27.

29/ Ibid., para. 1.

30/ Ibid., para. 29.

31/ International Institute for Labour Studies, 1994, op. cit.

32/ International Labour Office, "Promoting harmony ...".

33/ Dana Milbank, "Sweden: Laws help mom, but they hurt her career", The Wall Street Journal (Mexico) 26 July 1995.

34/ International Institute for Labour Studies, 1994, op. cit.

35/ China, National report, 1994.

36/ Israel, National report, 1994.

37/ Women in a Changing Global Economy ....

38/ Jamaica, National report, 1994.

39/ Colombia, National report, 1994.